

Message Text

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ORIGIN SS-25

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DRAFTED BY AF/S:FWISNER:BB

APPROVED BY THE SECRETARY

AF:WESCHAUFLE

IO:WMAYNES

P:PCHABIB

S/S: GOLDSMITH

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 026800

EXDIS FOR AMBASSADOR YOUNG FROM ASSISTANT SECRETARY SCHAUFLE

E.O. 11652: XGDS-3

TAGS: PFOR, RH

SUBJECT: YOUR MEETING WITH PRESIDENT NYERERE

REF: ZANZIBAR 049

1. THE ACCOUNT OF YOUR MEETING WITH PRESIDENT NYERERE ON FEBRUARY 4 IS MOST HELPFUL. SINCE YOU ARE PLANNING TO SEE HIM AGAIN, THERE ARE SEVERAL POINTS YOU MAY WISH TO KEEP IN MIND.

2. NYERERE'S INSISTENCE THAT WE NOT TREAT VORSTER AS AN ALLY IS MORE STRONGLY STATED THAN IN ANY OF HIS PAST COMMENTS TO US. THROUGHOUT THE COURSE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS NYERERE HAS CORRECTLY POINTED OUT THAT THERE ARE INTERNAL POLITICAL CONSTRAINTS WHICH LIMIT WHAT VORSTER CAN DO.

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NEVERTHELESS, AS HE KNOWS AND SUGGESTED, WE NEED VORSTER'S INFLUENCE IF SMITH IS TO SURRENDER POWER IN RHODESIA TO A TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT. IT WOULD BE USEFUL IF YOU COULD PROBE NYERERE FURTHER ON HOW HE THINKS SMITH CAN BE BROUGHT TO A SETTLEMENT WITHOUT VORSTER'S CLOSEST INFLUENCE.

3. NYERERE REPEATED TO YOU HIS PROPOSAL THE BRITISH RESUME NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE NATIONALISTS IN GENEVA AND REACH A SETTLEMENT WHICH SUBSEQUENTLY COULD BE FORCED ON

SMITH. WE SUSPECT THAT THE BRITISH WILL BE RELUCTANT TO PLAY ADVERSARY TO THE NATIONALISTS. MOREOVER, WE DOUBT VORSTER WILL BACK A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT FROM WHICH SMITH IS EXCLUDED. WE WILL HAVE TO BE CAREFUL TO AVOID FINDING OURSELVES IN THE POSITION OF SUPPORTING DIRECT BRITISH NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE NATIONALISTS WHICH WE COULD NOT SELL AFTER THEY WERE COMPLETED. THE AFRICANS COULD THEN HOLD US RESPONSIBLE FOR FAILURE.

4. WITH RESPECT TO RHODESIA, NYERERE APPEARED TO IMPLY THAT BRITISH PROPOSALS WHICH IVOR RICHARD CARRIED TO AFRICA RESERVED ONLY TWO SEATS EACH IN THE CABINET FOR MUZOREWA AND FOR SITHOLE. THIS IS NOT THE CASE. THE BRITISH PROPOSALS GAVE EACH OF THE GENEVA DELEGATIONS, INCLUDING SMITH'S, FIVE MINISTERIAL PORTFOLIOS AND PLANNED FOR AN ADDITIONAL FIVE CABINET POSITIONS FOR NON-RHODESIA FRONT EUROPEANS. THE BRITISH CONSULTED NEITHER SMITH NOR VORSTER BEFORE DRAFTING THEIR PROPOSALS. THEY DESIGNED THEIR PROPOSALS TO PROVIDE EQUAL REPRESENTATION TO ALL GENEVA PARTIES. PRIOR TO GENEVA, NYERERE AND HIS FRONT LINE COLLEAGUES INSISTED WITH THE BRITISH THAT SITHOLE BE GIVEN STATUS IN GENEVA EQUIVALENT TO THAT OF MUZOREWA, MUGABE AND NKOMO. IT WAS NOT UNTIL THE FRONT LINE PRESIDENTS' MEETING OF JANUARY 8 AND 9 THAT THE FRONT LINE PRESIDENTS DECLARED THEIR EXCLUSIVE SUPPORT FOR NKOMO AND MUGABE.

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5. CONCERNING NAMIBIA, WE DID NOT SEEK TO DELAY A NAMIBIAN SETTLEMENT UNTIL RHODESIAN NEGOTIATIONS WERE COMPLETE. IT WAS OUR INTENTION THROUGH THE 1976 NEGOTIATIONS TO OBTAIN FIRM AGREEMENT AMONG ALL THE PARTIES (THE FRONT LINE PRESIDENTS, SWAPO AND SOUTH AFRICA) TO PROPOSALS WHICH WOULD PERMIT THE CONVENING OF A NAMIBIAN CONFERENCE IN GENEVA. WE PLANNED AS WELL TO SECURE PRIOR AGREEMENT AMONG THE PARTIES FOR AN AGENDA AND TERMS OF REFERENCE. BY DEFINING THE FRAMEWORK PRECISELY AND IN ADVANCE, WE SOUGHT TO AVOID THE VERY AMBIGUITIES WHICH LED TO MISUNDERSTANDINGS AT THE RHODESIAN CONFERENCE.

6. THE PROPOSALS, WHICH WE DISCUSSED WITH THE SOUTH AFRICANS, WERE GIVEN TO THE SWAPO PRESIDENT AT THE END OF SEPTEMBER 1976. WE RECEIVED SWAPO'S COUNTER OFFER FROM MARK CHONA IN WASHINGTON IN JANUARY 1977. WE CONTINUE TO SEEK AN EARLY CONFERENCE ON NAMIBIA BUT

BELIEVE THAT NO CONFERENCE SHOULD BE ORGANIZED UNTIL THE
POSITIONS OF THE PARTIES ARE CLOSER AND AGREEMENT ON A
NEGOTIATING FRAMEWORK HAS BEEN OBTAINED.
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